11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow.

The *pakip* and *wiwakai* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Turupari*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then picks the object out of the body with a *matáw* feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *pakip* or *wiwakai* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately.

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ekóxowa* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *panema*. *Ekóxowa* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernaturals. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year.

Shamanism and Sorcery

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and to the underworld of the *Kíbirwat*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can